

Parochialism Women in the DEcision Making of Coastal Resource Management

By Ari Darmastuti

Parochialism: Women in the Decision Making of Coastal Resource Management in Two Coastal Areas in Lampung Province, Indonesia

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Abstract

Poverty is significantly linked to natural resource management, especially among village communities who are mostly live from agriculture. Regions with sound resource management mostly show a level of welfare whilst the contrary is the case for regions with poor resource management. Some coastal areas in the Province of Lampung are among poor regions in the area. It is assumed that the absence of women participation in coastal resource management will affect their welfare, especially through the lack of participation in the making of decision regarding resource and benefit distribution.

Women participation in the decision making mechanism has been assumed as the most important yet the most critical aspect of the study about women political participation. This study **intended** to figure out whether women **were** active participants in decision making mechanism and process in two coastal zones in South Lampung, Lampung Province, Indonesia. The study applied qualitative method; data were gathered through a two-week guided interviews towards 20 women selected from various economic, social and sub local background for each village during dry and wet seasons. I also applied triangulation method by holding focused group discussions/FGDs (4 FGDs in Pematang Pasir and 2 in Tejang Pulau Sebesi) which each was attended by participants ranging from 15 to 20 women. I found: (1) there was a clear different pattern of women participation in decision making mechanism and process between women from Pematang Pasir and from Tejang Pulau Sebesi; women from Pematang Pasir who mostly live from rice farming were more active in public decision making than women live from fishing from Tejang Pulau Sebesi; (2) women live from fishing activity in Tejang Pulau Sebesi were more alienated from political participation than women live from rice farming in Pematang Pasir; and (3) level of parochialism was stronger among women in Tejang Pulau Sebesi than among women in Pematang Pasir. Compared to the women from Tejang Pulau Sebesi, women in Pematang Pasir enjoy a better welfare condition; this is shown at least by their housing conditions and level of education.

Background

Shifting political power into the hand of people, especially to women, has always been a critical process in Indonesia. According to a prominent political scientist, the politics in Indonesia has always been treated as “a rubber concept” in which government leaders will pull the string of democracy or tighten public control when public dissents seem to emasculate, while the reverse will only happen when public show deference towards formal authority (Riswanda Imawan, 1997). This concept of “rubber democracy” is clearly shown in the following two most important laws governing domestic affairs in Indonesia.

Law number 5/1974 regarding Local Government has the main character of centralized system of government management in which the central government held most of the political power while local government has been no more than a stamping agent of the central government's will and interests. Law number 22/1999, on the contrary, has been characterized by a strong decentralized system in which the municipality/district and then municipal/district governments perform the largest share of public service and hold the strongest power thereafter.

In the context of policy which rapidly change, debate over natural resource management has triggered a very hot battle among tiers of government. While in the past New Order era all natural resources have almost entirely been controlled by the Central Government of Indonesia, in the decentralization era, every inch and every piece of land and other natural resource has become the dispute of different government levels and agencies. Among the most important disputes were regarding control over forest areas, river basin management, and sea and coastal area management. In Lampung Province, for instance, public policy formulation and decision making in coastal resource and river basin management, sea and coastal resource have been disputed by central government, provincial government and district/municipal government, as well as community members. The disputes were partly triggered by the enactment of Law number 22/1999 which give a much leeway for district government and at the same time limited the authority of provincial and central government's control over the very limited resource.

In the two coastal zones which were studied in 2000 and early 2001 (Ari Darmastuti and Erna Rochana), disputes over the coastal resource can be classified into several aspects by several actors:

1. Among tiers of governments. The disputes were mostly related to earnings for local governments in the forms of licensing natural resource use by private companies and public community. The disputes was also caused by a battle about "who has more power than the other", a very important aspects of not loosing power, authority and position, as well as institutional status in a very rapid change of government structure. It was in this decentralization process that some of central and provincial offices had been questioned of their existence, some were even asked to be closed or merged, both by public pressure and by government initiatives when their roles and functions were no longer stated in the new law.
2. Among local government and community members. In the section of the consideration of the new law number 22/1999, it was clearly stated that public must be involved in the decision making process of local policies, yet a clear mechanism as through which those participations should be made was never made. It is easy to forecast that disputes between government officers at local level with local communities concerning management of natural resource was merely a matter of time. In the studied area, the disputes especially related to status of land, where in both studied areas, the status of land was still unclear. In Pematang Pasir Village of Sragi Sub District in South Lampung Regency, Lampung Province, Indonesia, the village was still recorded as "forest" in the government official file even though it was formally transformed to be rice field since the 1970s under Rawa Sragi Development Project. Shrimp farming which has been rapidly practiced by community members was never supplied with fresh water service by government since it was not (until the study period in 2000) formally "a village" but "a forest area". Anger, frustration of the farmers were clear and was manifested through

many meetings and interviews, since fresh water service was not only important for the shrimp farming, but for the up stream rice field farming as well.

In the other studied area, Tejang Pulau Sebesi Village of the Sebesi Island in South Lampung, Indonesia (the island is a village only island), the around 2.100 inhabitants have almost been without any land entitlement. The island is until recently still under a family control which claims to inherit it from their ancestor. Some of the part of the island was bought by the government and was given to community members, but it happened long time ago, and the government failed to pay the rest. And even when the government insisted of paying parts of the island, it was not clear which community members were clearly given the land entitlement. The information was not only repeated by the local informants, but by NGO leaders in South Lampung, as well as government officers having authority related to land. Most community members in this tiny island demand that government (must be district level) make a once comprehensive solution to the problem, but the government acknowledge of not having any capacity to pay their debt. Continuous tensions and several demonstrations have happened showing public dissatisfaction with the government slow respond as well as uncertainty about who has the biggest responsibility to solve the problem.

3. Among community members. Without a clear legal status of the land, conflict among community members easily broke up. In the Pematang Pasir shrimp farming area, an example can be noted. When first then the following local migrants cleared the mangrove forest to open rice fields, opened shrimp ponds and built housing complex from mid to the end of 1970s, it was not perceived as harmful to the environment and almost no conflict of land was reported. The area was still abundant and sparsely populated. However, when population number grew fast (due to further local migration, inter-island migration, as well as natural birth rate), conflict over land started to tighten. The situation worsened without a prevailing order of land entitlement. There was a man cultivated a newly emerged piece of land in the very end of coastal zone (directly adjacent to sea) which from any point of view has been endangering the surrounding environment, yet since he was a "strong man", there was no firm authority which may prevent or punish such kind of action. There was also incident when a farmer blocked the stream of fresh water in a small dike to water his rice field or to supply fresh water to his shrimp pond while preventing other to get the benefit of the water, there was not any authority or law to refer either. These incidents indeed happened in the village under study. These incidents have tightened horizontal conflicts among community members (which was between perpetrators and the victims), and in some instances already took the form of physical ones.

In Tejang Pulau Sebesi village, horizontal conflicts occurred in the forms of conflict over sea fish farming interest and in the interests of people collecting reefs for building materials or using bomb to collect fish. A lot of fish farmers have been complaining of loosing good fishing spots due to irresponsible conduct of some other community members (both from their local counterparts and from outside island) digging and collecting reefs which destroy the fish environment. The use of bomb to collect fish by some irresponsible fishermen also has caused disappearance of all kinds of fish at all sizes, besides destroying the reefs as well.

In these two sites, problems related to natural resource management and the prospects of making decision to solve the problems seems alien to women. It was nowhere in the background that women appeared to have anything to do with the problems. However women's life are related to the problems of natural resource management. Women live in the region, and as such they were and are going to be affected by any activities, changes and conflicts in their surrounding environment.

In terms of theoretical frameworks, the study applied a more traditional theory of political culture which consists of several orientations (cognitive, affective and evaluative towards political objects) (Almond and Verba, 1984, 1989; Dalton 1988). Even though the theory has been criticized for the inapplicability for the analysis of political phenomena in developing countries as the concept of "super-citizen" (Dalton, 1988) is more suitable to analysis political orientations in more developed area requiring logical relationship between reason and action, orientation and participation are still powerful concepts to describe women participation in decision making process of natural resource management.

The study over women involvement in the decision making policy of natural resource management also follow the concept of politics by William Bluhm who stated that politics is a social process characterized by activity involving rivalry and cooperation in the exercise of power, and culminating in the making of decision for a group (Alan C. Isaak, 1975: 18). Politics in this term, is seen as activity or behavior than as particular kind of institution arrangement. Moving away the notion of politics from a merely focusing on national politics to a "more grass roots" activities of women seeking political justice at individual or at "closer proximity" level is important since these are the women who are faced with more culturally patriarchal system which is mostly blamed of constraining gender and good governance practice (UNRISD, 2005: xxxii).

In the context of the study, rivalry and cooperation is seen as the competing interests of several groups of people, women and men, conservationist and economic users. The overarching red-threads, however, was more about women versus men problems and interests and how each exercise power which is manifested in making decision of public policies over limited natural resource. In this study, public policies were defined as communal and village level policies which were intended to have effects on themselves, than as policies having effects for broader communities.

Methodology

The study was conducted following an approach of post-behavioralism. By post behavioralism (David Easton, 1992, 49-50), the study will seek more about substance than merely be bothered by technical problem of statistics and so on; not to lose touch with reality, concern with a question about values, show responsibility to the community under study, and positioned itself as a part of an effort of reshaping a society which is rapidly changing. Choice of approach was based on the argument that behavioral approach in this study will not be able to cover more detail data about human understanding and response over the attitudes and conducts of

government institutions and other community groups related to the issue of natural resource as well as their participation in the decision making mechanism for natural resource management. Post behavioralism offers a more fruitful way of conducting research for such kind of topic.

Two separate studies in two areas in 2000 and 2001 were conducted for the purpose of identifying several aspects of women life in coastal areas in Lampung Province, both though, were in South Lampung District. In the Village of Pematang Pasir, Ketapang Sub-District, two separate studies were conducted. One was a two-weeks “semi participatory” study in October 2000 to identify end dry season patterns of women activities and another one in January 2001 for another two-weeks study to identify the wet season patterns. The seasonal pattern is important since these were women living in low-lying areas from wet-land agricultural activities in east coast of Lampung Province. In these two studies, a mix approaches were taken. First was an in-depth interviews with 20 women representing women from different generations (young and old), different marital status (single, married, widow), different sub-villages (representing 4 sub-villages), different economic conditions (rich, medium, poor), different economic activities (farmer, shrimp pond farmer, others), different cultural background (Javanese, Sundanese, Bugis, Lampungese, others) and with several village leaders (formal and informal) to collect data about pattern of women participation in the decision making process both at household level and community level.

Following the in-depth interviews, focused group discussions (4 for all the sub-village FGDs) were conducted to:

1. Collect data concerning pattern of activities related to management of coastal resource, data concerning group perception about women involvement community level decision making, data about women aspiration for participation in public life, especially in the decision making about management of coastal resource in their respective areas, and data about problems prevented women from participating in public life.
2. Collect data about seasonal pattern of coastal resource management. Seasonal pattern in Pematang Pasir village was important since the farming practice (both wet-rice and shrimp farming) was highly influenced by availability of fresh water provided by rain during rainy season. As the results, activities as through which women had to participate in public life were highly influenced by season as well.

In Tejang Pulau Sebesi, similar number of in-depth interviews were also held. However, focused group discussions were only held in two neighborhoods due to limited time *availability* as well as difficulty for inviting participants from the scattered parts of the island. Study was also only held once for this island since seasonal pattern was not as important as in Pematang Pasir.

Results and Discussion

Patterns of Activities Related to Coastal Resource Management

There was a gender clear cut pattern of activities related to coastal resource management in

Pematang Pasir Village. Most women worked for the management of wet-rice field farming, but almost totally absent from doing anything with the shrimp farming. The data were shown not only from surveys, but from physical observations during the course of study. Further data showed that even though most women worked for the rice field management, however not all of the works related to it were only performed by women. Men worked for the rice field as well, mostly related to preparing land (especially plowing), planting seeds in the breeding plots, uprooting small rice plants from the breeding, harvesting using specific knife (or "arit/sabit") in local term, and bringing the rice home from fields. Women mostly performed the works of planting the fields, weeding, trashing the seeds at harvest seasons, selling the rice and managing financial works for almost all of those activities (as to buying seeds and fertilizer, paying employees, leasing plowing machine). In short, there was a clear cut work division between women and men in the practice of rice farming in this village.

Shrimp farming practiced in this village consisted of several activities: preparing shrimp pond, filling shrimp pond with salty water from the sea, keeping fresh water supply to the pond, planting baby shrimp to the pond, feeding daily, weeding the pond, harvesting, and cleaning the pond. Among those activities, women almost absent from any activity except a small part in harvesting and selling the shrimp. In harvesting activity, women only collected shrimp outside the pond, men brought it out of the field.

Apart from field-related activities, shrimp pond farming also consisted of public dimension activities, which were activities related to decision concerning water division (fresh or sea water), maintenance of water channels, division concerning boundary between shrimp pond and rice field areas, prevention of intrusion of sea water to rice field area, and maintenance of mangrove forest.

In Tejang Pulau Sebesi agricultural activities in the coastal resource management are in, among others, coconut, banana, few coffee and clove, and fish catch activities. In this case, related to coastal resource management, women only got involved in farming process and were not at all involved in fish-catch activities (except in the form of fish product processing for self-consumption and market). Policy making activities in Tejang Pulau Sebesi are related, among others, to bomb-use prevention of catching fish and reef destruction and rehabilitation of damaged reefs, and maintenance of clean coastal zones and sanitation of the very bad condition of environment.

In Pematang Pasir area, all aspects of activities, especially in the public dimension, had significant changes both in the context of seasons and time. In the context of seasons, the distribution of fresh water for watering wet-rice fields and ponds (to be mixed with sea water) has been a very important issue due to its limited availability and technical supply to farming and pond areas. In up-stream rice fields, fresh water was easy to get because it flows from up-stream area, that the down-stream rice fields difficult to get fresh water not only because much water had been taken by rice field farmers in the upper stream area but also because sea water intrusion is stronger in the downstream zones. In pond areas, sea water was easier to get for down-stream area but mixture of fresh water were more difficult to get. In addition, the most down-stream pond areas were also under abrasion and threats of shrimp pest disease from wastes brought by water from upper stream ponds. This patterns depends on seasons as fresh

water and sea water flows are influenced by seasons. Fresh water flows much more in rainy seasons, so not many need it, whereas abrasion and sea water intrusion threats are greater when sea water tides in "east season".

In time dimension, there are distinct patterns of coastal resource management between before and after the period of the enactment of Law number 22/1999 on Local Autonomy. Based on the Law, the traditional community and district government have bigger authority to manage coastal areas, and then the issue of coastal resource management based on traditional law again came up. In addition, sustainable coastal resource management became more important issue as the condition of coastal areas was getting worse.

The focus of the study on decision making activities at level of households and village is paramount to find out the patterns of women participation at *grass roots level* and at a "*closer proximity*" as it is at these levels that women are confronted with patriarchal culture much more stronger than with the state level (UNRISD, 2005: xxxii).

Patterns of women participation: domestic versus public, direct and indirect

In Pematang Pasir village, in terms of decision making on water division (fresh and sea water), maintenance of water channels, division concerning boundary between shrimp pond and rice field areas, prevention of intrusion of sea water that reduces the fertility of rice field area and shrimp pond area, and maintenance of mangrove, most women had no access to it and no direct participation. Even though some women were present (a woman for several times), in many meetings none of the women were present to discuss the problems. They were less active in public decision making but they were very active in social, religious and economic activities (*arisan*, money savings and borrowings business, skill-training). The women only participated indirectly, through their husbands, and also by "giving (authorizing) notes to their husbands and neighborhoods about results and decisions made through women group discussions".

Through several group discussions and individual interview, it is found that women see public decision making as "out of women's business". In this case, there was a very significant division between public and domestic business, in the form of cognitive awareness, attitude and behavior. The division of public and domestic business is still held very strongly in the form of cognitive awareness, attitudes and behaviors. The non participatory behavior in the public decision making were based on attitudes that conceived public policy beyond women business, and this conception was based on a strong awareness of the difference between "man job" and "women job", as noted by Arif Budiman (1982) that sexual-based job division between man and woman has finally created women subordination since the beginning of human existence and has been taken and considered by woman as natural way of life.

Nevertheless, the division between public and domestic domains has been blurred by the fact that women indirectly have influence towards public decision making through their husbands, as husbands in general have discussion with their wives on public issues that might affect family life and especially economy. In addition, *arisan* and money savings and borrowings business (both for consumptive and productive intent) a very intensive activity carried out by women

groups in Pematang Pasir had substantial influence towards the pattern of coastal resource management, especially in financing productive operational costs.

However, according to women informants and those women from Pematang Pasir village who were present in the group discussion, the absence of women in public decision making would put them in disadvantage position as they would directly or indirectly get affected by any public decisions, even in the areas which are seemingly related to women interests such as coastal abrasion and mangrove rehabilitation located far away from residential complex. They too were of the opinion that their presence in decision making at village level(if they can participate) could possibly change some aspects of the decision, such as the form of sanction (punishment) for a breach of agreement on maintenance of mangrove, maintenance of water channels, water distribution, etc

Thus, the patriarchal culture in decision making at village level, in the eyes of women, not only put women but also the society as a whole in disadvantage position, even though this was not explicitly seen but it should be elicited through discussions for not only collecting data for research but also as the media to empower women in the form of awareness formation about the role of women in coastal resource management.

Other forms of discrimination between men and women in coastal resource management and activities are wage system. Data of the study reveal that discrimination of wage scheme still occur. For types of work seemingly equal to wet-land works, for example, men were paid more compared to women (the work of rooting up seedlings in general carried out by men and that of planting seedlings in rice field generally carried out by women were the same, but men got higher wages). When this problem was raised in the group discussion to see whether women realized this practice of discrimination and whether the problems had ever been resolved through dialogue mechanism, the women did not even realize that the wage discrimination was a problem for them. They had taken it as a natural thing, as "men are living makers" and so they deserve higher wages. Even more, most women in Pematang Pasir area worked for wet-land farming based on "arisan (turn taking work)" principle in which each member works for another member's lands in turn with no pay/wage. The same principle is not recognized among men.

Again, a part from women informants' awareness of the need for women's role in decision making at village level on coastal area management was still low, their awareness of their own problems was still low as well. Thus, the concept of "super-citizen" (Dalton, 1988) and of "participant political culture" (Almond and Verba, 1984), or post materialistic awareness that highly values self-esteem(Inglehart, 1990) was still far from women's cognitive awareness in Pematang Pasir village. Their indirect roles in public decision making are still the extension of their domestic roles (such as "Integrated Service Centre", "Family and Baby Care", "House of Mother's Care", "Welfare Family Development", etc) and have not yet touched critical areas that are against patriarchal political culture (or against unbalanced power relations between man and women in decision making that will affect women's life).

Nevertheless, there were 3 persons among the women informants (two wives and one widow) who had strong self-confidence and strong influence on their husbands' decisions. One of them

was very active in public domains, especially in organizing women activities and became a sort of *opinion leader* for women in the Pematang Pasir village.

In Tejang Pulau Sebesi village area, the division between domestic and public affairs is quite distinct. As the women did not have an organized economic activities (like the ones found in Pematang Pasir village), and as the women lack of management skills, they virtually had no influence towards public decision making at village level neither directly nor indirectly. There were clear-cut and equivocal responses between women informants in Pematang Pasir and those in Tejang Pulau Sebesi village. Most informants in Pematang Pasir said they actively participated in decision making at family level in which their husbands respect and accommodate their ideas including in public decision making, whereas most informants in Tejang Pulau Sebesi village said that they "learned from their husbands about decision making process at family level".

In contrast to women in Pematang Pasir village where some of them were active in community affairs management and women groups, no women in Tejang Pulau who appeared in public domains, except as a teacher or nurse. They also informed that they were never invited to participate in public decision making. Apathy can clearly be seen from the informants' responses. Apathy among the community, especially women in the management of their own island environment, revealed by informants, is due to the unclear status of land where they live. According to informants, there was structural constraints in settling it. Both the land owner and local government did not seem interested to resolve the status of the land. However, men said that they would fight for settling the problems, by putting pressure on the local government, whereas women were reluctant to discuss the problem and were even scared to discuss it as shown in a women group discussion.

In Pematang Pasir, in the course of the study, there was village regulation planning activities regarding coastal zone management in efforts to prevent further destruction and to initiate rehabilitation. The same activities were also conducted in Tejang Pulau Sebesi, especially intended to make common regulation planning to prevent fishing activities from environmental destruction and to rehabilitate damaged coastal area and mainly damaged reefs. From interview conducted in Tejang Pulau Sebesi, only one woman was interested in this issue. In a meeting conducted to settle the problem was attended by men only. For women in Pulau Sebesi, the sea is men's affairs. All activities and decision making related to sea and sea-related resources were men's world. This has similarities with what happened to women in Pematang Pasir in the case of shrimp pond areas. Management and decision making about ponds were almost totally in the hands of men, except for fish product management.

The only public affairs realized by women in Tejang Pulau Sebesi as their affairs was when they once participated in the management of government-aided cows for women groups of the village. But information cautiously revealed by the informants indicated that the cows management was not transparent under the management of the village head and finally gave no advantage to the village women groups (Family Welfare Development/PKK) which was supposed to be the target groups of the government's aid. In different form, women informants of Pematang Pasir village also revealed the same case, where PKK funds which were supposed to be allocated for women groups were gone as well. They knew nothing about the

appropriation of the fund as there had been no accountability mechanism by chair of Village PKK (village head's wife) to their members.

Study in the two coastal zones of Lampung Province shows that decentralization process has not yet successfully stimulated women group participation. This principle is both directly and indirectly shown in those two laws. Policy making proximity introduced by government, by granting very big autonomy to district/municipality and village community is just a rethoric. Especially in empowering women as a group with special attention through the Presidential Decree Number 9/2000 on Gender Mainstreaming in Development (PUG), both decentralization and proximity were not effective. The decentralization of policy making is still confronted with structural constraints in the form of incompleteness of more technical policy frames/schemes as a whole needed for implementing the Law number 22/1999, and so the districts/municipality and villages have not yet been able to express local initiatives at the level of policy and its implementation.

In some cases, policies and regulations at national level are in contradictory that the community at the lower level, especially village community, become confused about which regulations or rules to follow. The study shows that at village level the community can see several constraints, among others, the contradictory status of land, wet-land farms and ponds which in fact belong to village area but in the government's official document is still recorded as forest zone. Many policy initiatives at village level made and proposed by the community were confronted with these constraints and finally got stuck.

The wish to promote women to get involved in the policy making process (among others through Presidential Decree mentioned above) finally becomes only ineffective slogan unless it is followed-up by any *affirmative action* or *positive discrimination*, especially on the part of district/municipality and village administrations. In fact, both the wish and the *affirmative action* are needed to promote women access to political decisions, especially in a situation where women are left behind men in many aspects of life (Lovenduski and Norris, 1993). The slogan alone is not effective to solve the problems of patriarchal culture at the grassroots level (UNRISD, 2005), a culture which is obviously held by the majority of community (man and women) in both Lampung coastal areas.

In the perspective of proximity, the low participation of women will in turn make the specific need of women for coastal zone management (rice field agriculture in Pematang Pasir area and fish product management in Tejang Pulau Sebesi village were mainly carried out by women) not accommodated, especially at public level. Credit schemes, policy and more budgets were allocated to ponds management as this business was considered more prestigious than wet rice farming. In Tejang Pulau Sebesi village, more credits were given to fish catch infrastructure, not to product management. The Coastal Project working in the study area barely paid attention to rice field area management or fish-catching product management, even though both activities carried out by most women were parts of coastal zone resource management.

In Pematang Pasir village there was even a conversion of capital ownership from women to men in the forms of cash produced by women (as a result of being a trader or overseas domestic worker) turned to be men's assets (like for purchasing ponds, purchasing wet-land farms,

building houses, buying transportation vehicles which will be in men's entitlement). So far no policy that accommodate women needs for protecting and controlling over their working products. So, in reality decentralization and proximity policies have not yet reached women.

At individual and group level (as shown in the beginning of this article that government-aided cows management and PKK budget did not reach the target groups), decentralization which by design is to grant decision making (about government's cows aid and PKK budget) to proximity level for better community life (individuals and groups), in reality did not work or not supported by empirical data. It is obvious that women have the authority to manage assets, but without having awareness of their rights to decide the use (appropriation) of the assets, the potential advantage of the assets would disappear.

In the theory of parochial culture, the absence of political awareness is termed as parochial culture character, or alienated society in political events (Almond and Verba, 1984). In the case of this study, women in Tejang Pulau Sebesi village have higher degree of political alienation compared to those in Pematang Pasir village, thus parochial culture character is more clearly seen among women in Tejang Pulau Sebesi village. As some women in Pematang Pasir were active in self-organizing (for some cases outside political issues) and saw the important roles of women in decision making at village level (even though they had not yet intensively participated), the parochial culture and few participants had begun to grow among them.

Nevertheless, this conclusion must be interpreted carefully as in the study of civic culture the parochial culture is often termed as "primitive society and alienated tribe" character. Women in Tejang Pulau Sebesi village is not a primitive society, but obviously the majority of women there were still alienated from political process, and this is why they are termed as parochial civic culture. The character of mixed civic culture of women in Pematang Pasir Village must also be interpreted with care, as it does not mean that there has been a strong trend among the parochial civic culture as it has been in the participatory culture. However, the meaning of mixed civic culture among women in the Pematang Pasir is only a term used to give a short description that some women in this village have had relatively good political awareness. Even though some of them have not yet directly become effective political actors, yet they have tried to influence public agenda through informal channels of interest.

Notes: 3

1. Arisan - regular social gathering whose members contribute to and take turns at winning an aggregate sum of money.
2. PKK – Family Welfare Development
3. Posyandu - Integrated Service Centre
4. Pondok Sayang Ibu - House of Mother's Care
5. Bina Keluarga dan Balita - Family and Baby Care
6. Usaha Simpan Pinjam - money savings and borrowings business
7. Prinsip ini tersurat dan tersirat dalam kedua undang-undang tersebut. – left untranslated (coherent?)
8. Untranslated: 2729 words – 2958 translated words

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